

Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CCO-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 TRSE-00 ACDA-10 EUR-12 /087 W
-----170437Z 072161 /61

O R 170130Z FEB 77

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 2018

FOR S/PRS; DEPT. PASS NSC FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI AND WHITE HOUSE

FOR MR. POWELL.

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: OVIP(VANCE, CYRUS R.), PFOR, IS, XF, US
SUBJECT: REMARKS OF SECRETARY VANCE AND FONMIN. ALLON AT PRESS
CONFERENCE 2235, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1977.

1. REMARKS BY SECRETARY VANCE:

2. GOOD EVENING LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I JUST HAVE A FEW
OPENING REMARKS AND THEN MINISTER ALLON AND I WILL ANSWER
ANY QUESTIONS WHICH YOU MAY HAVE.

3. AS I INDICATED EARLIER THIS EVENING AT OUR DINNER, THIS
HAS BEEN A VERY FRUITFUL DAY FROM MY STANDPOINT.

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4. I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER
AND THE OTHER LEADERS OF ISRAEL, TO LEARN FROM THEM FIRSTHAND
THEIR VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE SETTLEMENT OR THE MEANS OF
ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST. I LEAVE WITH A MUCH CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THOSE VIEWS,
AND THEY WILL HELP ME GREATLY AS I GO TO THE OTHER CAPITALS
WHICH I WILL BE VISITING IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO MEET WITH THE

LEADERS OF OHE OTHER NATIONS INVOLVED IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE.

5. AS I INDICATED WHEN I LEFT UPON THIS TRIP, IT IS MY
POUPOSE TO SEEK ON THIS TRIP TO LEARN THE VIEWS OF THE VARIOUS
LEADERS WITH RESPECT TO WHAT THE SHAPE OF AN ULTIMATE PEACE
SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE, TO LEARN THEIR VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE
SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND THE PROCEDURAL ISSUES WHICH ARE INVOLVED
IN THAT PROCESS, AND THEN TO RETURN AND REPORT TO PRESIDENT
CARTER THE RESULTS OF MY MISSION.

6. SUBSEQUENTLY, DURING THE MONTHS OF MARCH AND APRIL, LEADERS
OF THESE COUNTRIES, WE HOPE, WILL ALL COMING TO VISIT WITH
US SO THAT WE MAY CONTINUE THIS PROCESS, LOOKING TOWARDS THE
START OF THE PROCESS BY A GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE IN THE SECOND
HALF OF 1977.

7. NOW I'M VERY HAPPY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS WHICH YOU MAY
HAVE, AS IS THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

8. Q: IN YOUR MIND, NOW THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE MADE IT
QUITE CLEAR THEY WON'T SIT DOWN WITH THE PLO, IS PALESTINIAN
PARTICIPATION IN WHAT YOU CALL A GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE
FORECLOSED OR IS STILL AN OPEN QUESTION?

9. VANCE: THE QUESTION OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE IS AN ISSUE,
WHICH I HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, IS ONE OF THE KEY ISSUES TO BE
RESOLVED IN ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT ALONG WITH THE QUESTION OF PEACE
AND WITHDRAWAL. THOSE ARE THE THREE KEY ELEMENTS, AND IN THE
NEGOTIATIONS THEY MUST BE DEALT WITH. WITH RESPECT TO THE
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QUESTION OF HOW ONE APPROACHES THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, WE ARE
AT AN EARLY STAGE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS AND WE WILL HAVE TO SEE WHAT
OTHER VIEWS ARE RECEIVED DURING THE BALANCE OF MY TRIP.

10. Q: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT SO YOU MEAN BY A GENEVA-TYPE
CONFERENCE?

11. VANCE: WELL, YOU CAN CALL IT GENEVA CONFERENCE IF YOU
WANT; I DON'T DRAW ANY DISTINCTION.

12. Q: MR. ALLON, DOES THIS CONFERENCE FORMAT REQUIRE FIRST
CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THEN GOING ON TO DIFFERENT
MEETINGS?

13. ALLON: IN THE PAST, ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, SOME OF THE
ARAB LEADERS RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A DIFFERENT KIND OF
A CONFERENCE RATHER THAN MEETINGS AT GENEVA ITSELF. BUT I, ON
MY PART, CONSIDER ANY PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE, EVEN WHEN THE
DISCUSSIONS OR NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE OUTSIDE GENEVA, AS

A FUNCTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. FOR INSTANCE, WHEN WE NEGOTIATED WITH THE EGYPTIANS THE FIRST DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, THERE WERE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS IN KILOMETER 101 IN THE DESERT. IT WAS NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED THERE. NEVERTHELESS, WE STILL CONSIDER THAT POSITIVE RESULT AS A FUNCTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE.

14. WE DO NOT TREAT GENEVA AS A MEETING PLACE OR AS AN OPERATION FOR ONE TIME. IT'S A CONTINUOUS PROCESS EVEN WHEN THERE ARE INTERVALS BETWEEN ONE ACHIEVEMENT AND ANOTHER. IT SHOULD CONTINUE UNTIL WE GET, UNTIL WE ACHIEVE OUR GOAL, WHICH IS DURABLE PEACE. THEREFORE, IF SOME ARAB GOVERNMENT WOULD PREFER TO HAVE OUR CONTACTS OUTSIDE GENEVA, IT WILL BE WELCOMED AS LONG AS THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT BE ACCOMPANIED BY PRE-CONDITIONS.

15. Q: (QUESTION INAUDIBLE)
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16. ALLON: WELL, I AM AFRAID THAT WE ARE-- THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE NECESSARY MEANS TO FIND OUT WITH THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS WHETHER THEY WOULD LIKE TO START THIS WAY OR THAT WAY, AND IN THIS RESPECT AND IN SOME OTHER RESPECTS OF THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS, I THINK AMERICA'S GOOD OFFICES CAN HELP A LOT. IT CAN START WITH AN OPENING SESSION AS IT DID IN THE FIRST MODEL AND THEN, AND THIS IS A GOOD BEGINNING, AND THEN, OF COURSE, BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE, BECAUSE YOU CAN'T NEGOTIATE WITH A CHOIR-- PARTICULARLY WHEN IT IS A CHOIR OF FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND WITH DUE RESPECT, OF AMBASSADORS; YOU CAN HAVE A VERY LOVELY MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO MAKE SPEECHES. WHEN IT BOILS DOWN TO BUSINESS, WE MUST HAVE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOME HELP FROM OUTSIDE, PREFERABLY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN ORDER TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO THE GIVEN OR RESPECTIVE BORDER, AND IN EACH BORDER, THE PROBLEMS ARE DIFFERENT THAN THE OTHER.

17. Q: ARE THERE ANY SECURITY CONDITIONS OR ARRANGEMENTS WHATSOEVER THAT WOULD PERMIT YOU TO RETURN TO THE '67 BORDER.....?

18. ALLON: YOU KNOW, MY TROUBLE IS THAT ONCE UPON A TIME I WAS A GENERAL. THANK GOD, SINCE THEN I BECAME A CIVILIZED GENERAL. AND I KNOW THAT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE TO TERRAIN. ONE CAN DO WITH A LITTLE LESS, ONE CAN DO BETTER WITH A LITTLE MORE. BUT WHAT WE CALL DEFENSIBLE BORDERS ARE INDISPENSIBLE, AND I THINK THAT IF THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE WOULD PREVAIL IN OUR COUNCILS, IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS, THEN IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE AN AGREEMENT WHICH WILL GIVE A SATISFACTORY ANSWER TO ALL PROBLEMS. IT WILL PROVIDE ISRAEL WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS ON THE ONE HAND, AND WILL GIVE A SATISFACTORY ANSWERS TO ALL

OTHER PROBLEMS ON THE OTHER SIDE, INCLUDING A JUST SOLUTION TO
THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION.

18. Q: WILL LIMITED NEGOTIATIONS--BILATERAL--TO AN
END OF WAR AGREEMENT QUALIFY IN YOUR EYES OR IN THE EYES OF
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SECRETARY VANCE AS A GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE?

19. ALLON: LET ME REMIND YOU THAT THE FIRST DISENGAGEMENT
AGREEMENTS AND THEN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WERE ALL LIMITED
AGREEMENTS, AND THEY COULD BE TREATED AS GENEVA- TYPE
NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS.

20. Q: MR. VANCE, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU, DO YOU INTEND TO
ASK YOUR ARAB HOSTS WHAT THEY THINK ABOUT ENDING THE STATE

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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OF WAR WITH ISRAEL? WILL YOU ASK THEM SPECIFICALLY ABOUT
ENDING THE STATE OF WAR?

21. VANCE: YES INDEED, I WILL ASK WHAT THEIR VIEW IS OF AN ULTIMATE PEACE SETTLEMENT, HOW THEY DEFINE IT, WHAT IT INCLUDES, AND WILL TRY TO PROBE IN FULL DEPTH EXACTLY WHAT THEY MEAN BY THAT.

22. Q: WHAT ABOUT ENDING THE STATE OF WAR....?

23. VANCE: YES, THAT'S ONE OF THE QUESTIONS I WOULD ASK.

24. Q: IF THERE WERE PEOPLE KNOWN AS PLO OFFICIALS, APPOINTED AS DELEGATES, WOULD ISRAEL ACCEPT ANYONE APPOINTED WITH ANY DELEGATION BY KING HUSSEIN? IF UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, PEOPLE WHO ARE NOW KNOWN AS PLO OFFICIALS, WORKING IN THE RESPECTIVE DELEGATIONS, WOULD ISRAEL ACCEPT UNCLASSIFIED

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THEM - IN GENEVA?

15. ALLON: PLO OFFICIALS CANNOT BE RECOGNIZED BY US AS PARTY FOR NEGOTIATIONS. BUT IF PLO RENOUNCE THE PALESTINIAN COVENANT, STOPS TERRORISM, AND CEASES TO BE PLO AND BECOME ORDINARY PALESTINIANS, THERE WILL BE NO BOYCOTT ON PERSONS AND THIS IS FOR THE JORDANIAN AUTHORITIES TO APPOINT THEIR DELEGATIONS.

26. I WOULD LIKE ONLY TO ADD THAT WE INFORMED THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT OBJECT TO THE PARTICIPATION OF PALESTINIAN DELEGATES COMING FROM THE WEST BANK, IN THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION, EVEN IF IT BECOMES A JOINT JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN DELEGATION-- BUT A SINGLE ONE.

27. Q: (QUESTION INAUDIBLE BUT DEALS WITH POSSIBLE APPOINTMENT OF PALESTINIANS WHO ARE NOW PLO OFFICIALS -- MIGHT THEY BE ACCEPTED AS A PART OF THE JORDANIAN DELEGATIONS?)

28. ALLON: IF THEY ARE APPOINTED AS OFFICIALS OF THE PLO, NO. IF THEY COME AS THE DEVOTED AND RELIABLE CITIZENS OF THE KING, IT IS HIS BUSINESS.

29. Q: MR. VANCE, DO YOU SUPPORT THE ISRAELI POSITON THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE PLO PARTICIPATION AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BEFORE THE PLO SPECIFICALLY RENOUNCES OR CHANGES ITS CHARTER....?

30. VANCE: I HAVE STATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT AS LONG AS THEY STAND BY THE COVENANT AND REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLES OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT PROVIDES NO BASIS FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

31. Q: MR. ALLON, MR. VANCE (QUESTIONER ASKED ABOUT
POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE SHUTTLE NEGOTIATIONS.)
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32. ALLON: SHUTTLE TO ME IS A TECHNICAL MEANS, AND IF SHUTTling
BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL BE HELPFUL, I WOULD ADVISE HIM
TO START SHUTTling, PROVIDED AT LEAST ON ONE OF HIS SHUTTLES,
HE BRINGS HIS WIFE WITH HIM.

33. VANCE: TALKING ABOUT SHUTTLES IS A LONG, LONG WAY OFF.
WE ARE AT THE VERY FIRST STEPS OF THIS PROCESS, AND WE'LL
GET THROUGH THE FIRST STEP AND SEE WHERE WE GO FROM THERE.

34. Q: MR. SECRETARY, I UNDERSTAND YOU TO SAY YOU WERE LOOKING
FORWARD TO START A PROCESS LEADING TO A GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE IN THE
SECOND HALF OF 1977. DO YOU MEAN JUST A PROCESS, OR A
CONFERENCE?

35. VANCE: THE START OF A PROCESS LEADING TO, IS WHAT I
INTENDED TO SAY.

36. Q: WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT..?

37. VANCE: I WOULD HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE A CONFERENCE
IN THE SECOND HALF.

38. Q: (QUESTION INAUDIBLE, BUT ASKED ABOUT STATUS OF
QUESTIONS OF KFIR SALE, CONCUSSION BOMBS, OIL DRILLING IN
SUEZ.)

29. VANCE: I THINK I HAVE ANSWERED TWO OF THOSE EARLIER TODAY.
FIRST, WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF THE CONCUSSION BOMBS,
I SAID THAT THAT WAS A DECISION THAT WOULD BE MADE BY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. HE WILL MAKE THE DECISION.
WHEN HE MAKES IT, HE WILL ANNOUNCE IT. I HAVE NOTHING FURTHER
TO ADD ON THIS. WITH RESPECT TO THE KFIR DECISION, I
INDICATED THIS AFTERNOON THE UNITED STATES TOOK THAT DECISION
BECAUSE IT WAS CONSONANT WITH THE POSITION WHICH IT HAD LONG
HELD THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT SELL ADVANCED EQUIPMENT
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TO LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, THAT THE KFIR IS AN ADVANCED
AIRCRAFT, AND THEREFORE WE TOOK THE DECISION WHICH WE DID.
NOW THE THIRD QUESTION WAS WHAT, SIR?

40. Q: OIL DRILLING IN THE GULF OF SUEZ.

41. VANCE: WE HAD A GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THAT TODAY.

42. Q: A QUESTION FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE: CAN THE SOVIET UNION MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE (BALANCE INAUDIBLE).

43. VANCE: THE SOVIET UNION IS A CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. AS SUCH THEY HAVE A POSSIBILITY TO JOIN IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. I MAKE THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY SHARE THE SAME OBLIGATION AND OBJECTIVE THAT WE DO, NAMELY TO HELP IN THE PEACE PROCESS, AND WE'LL EXPECT THEM TO DO SO.

44. Q: MR. SECRETARY, WHEN YOU HAVE SPOKEN OR WHEN YOU SPEAK OF MODERATION-- THE NEW SPIRIT OF MODERATION AMONG THE ARABS-- CAN YOU TELL US HOW THAT NEW SPIRIT AFFECTS OR CHANGES, IF IT DOES, ARAB GOALS VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL?

45. VANCE: I DON'T WANT TO TRY AND GO INTO ANY SPECIFICS AT THIS POINT. WHAT ONE TALKS IN TERMS OF MODERATION, IT IMPLIES FLEXIBILITY AND AS LONG AS THERE IS FLEXIBILITY, I THINK IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IT MEANS THERE IS A BETTER CHANCE TO MOVE TOWARDS A SOLUTION.

46. Q: IS THERE A CHANCE FOR YOU TO COME BACK TO ISRAEL ON THIS TRIP?

47. VANCE: NO. I WILL BE GOING BACK DIRECTLY FROM DAMASCUS NEXT MONDAY TO THE UNITED STATES.

48. Q: DO YOU STILL BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A PRELIMINARY

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CONFERENCE, AND IF SO WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF THAT CONFERENCE...?

49. VANCE: IF IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS OR A PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE TO PREPARE THE NECESSARY GROUNDWORK, YES, I WOULD BE VERY MUCH IN FAVOR OF IT AND THIS IS ONE OF THE THINGS I HOPE TO FIND OUT DURING MY FURTHER DISCUSSIONS DURING THE NEXT WEEK.

50. Q: WILL THE UNITED STATES (ARMS POLICY) HALT THE SALE OF KFIRS TO NON-LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES?

51. VANCE: NO, NOT NECESSARILY. IT DOES NOT APPLY TO NON-LATIN AMERICAN SITUATIONS.

52. Q: MR. SECRETARY: HAVE YOU FOUND ENOUGH FLEXIBILITY
IN THE ISRAELI POSITION..., OR WOULD YOU LIKE TO FIND MORE?

53. VANCE: I AM ALWAYS ENCOURAGED BY FLEXIBILITY. I DID
FIND FLEXIBILITY AND THAT WAS ENCOURAGING TO ME.

54. ALLON: HEAR, HEAR, HEAR*

55. Q: DID YOU DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN SOUTH LEBANON TODAY AND
WHAT WAS THE DISCUSSION (PARTLY INAUDIBLE).

56. VANCE: WE HAD A DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH
LEBANON HERE TODAY. THE UNITED STATES HAS IN THE PAST DAYS AND
WEEKS HELPED TO FACILITATE A CALMING OF THE SITUATION THERE BY
ACTING AS AN INTERMEDIARY AMONG THE PARTIES. I THINK THE
SITUATION IS IN A BETTER CONDITION THAN IT WAS BEFORE. I AM

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ENCOURAGED BY THAT AND I HOPE THAT SUCH RESTRAINT WILL CONTINUE
IN THE FUTURE.

57. Q:YOU PLEDGED FULL COOPERATION WITH LEADERS OF
ISRAEL AS WELL AS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. DO YOU THINK THERE IS

A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL?... (INAUDIBLE).

58. VANCE: WELL, THE U.S. AND ISRAEL HAVE ALWAYS HAD A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS VERY IMPORTANT TO THE U.S. AND IN THE PROCESS OF THE SEARCH FOR PEACE WE THINK IT IS OUR OBLIGATION TO MEET WITH ALL THE LEADERS TO FIND OUT FROM ALL OF THEM THEIR CONCERNS, THEIR VIEWS AND TO ACT TO FACILITATE THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THEM SO AS TO TRY TO NARROW THE GAPS WHICH EXIST.

59. Q: WHAT IS ISRAEL'S POSITION ON THE PRELIMINARY PEACE CONFERENCE... (INAUDIBLE).

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60. ALLON: I THOUGHT YOU WERE ABOUT TO ASK WHETHER WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THE SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND I WOULD SAY YES. I UNDERSTAND WE ARE APPROACHING THE END OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE SO I WILL ANSWER THIS QUESTION AND I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A FEW ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS WHICH WE WERE NOT ASKED. (LAUGHTER). PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS MAY BE VERY HELPFUL. FOR INSTANCE, I CAN ENVISAGE EVEN INFORMAL PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN AND AUTHENTIC LEADERS OF THE PALESTINIAN-ARAB COMMUNITY ON THE WEST BANK AS TO HOW BEST CAN THEIR CAUSE BE REPRESENTED IN A JOINT DELEGATION WITH THE JORDANIANS. YOU SEE, WHETHER IT IS PRELIMINARY OR NOT PRELIMINARY, THE QUESTION IS WHAT METHOD BRINGS US NEARER TO REAL NEGOTIATIONS, AND IN THIS CASE I THINK THE MEDIATION OF THE U.S. AND SECRETARY VANCE IS REALLY INDISPENSIBLE IF I MAY LEARN SOMETHING FROM THE PAST. THERE WAS A QUESTION ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION'S ROLE. WITH ALL MY RESPECT TO THE CO-CHAIRMAN WHO SITS ON MY LEFT. I DON'T KNOW WHO IS MORE LEFT, BUT NEVERTHELESS THAT'S WHERE HE SITS. OF COURSE, WE DO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A CO-CHAIRMAN, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND I CAN'T SAY THAT THERE IS A SYMMETRY BETWEEN THE, LET US SAY VIS-A-VIS THE BEHAVIOR OF THOSE TWO CO-CHAIRMAN ABOUT THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ONE OF THE RULES OF THE GAME IS THAT THE POWER WHICH IS PRESIDING OVER THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, OR EVEN GOING FURTHER BY OFFERING GOOD OFFICES AND THEN AT LEAST THAT POWER IS REFRAINING FROM SHAPING ITS OWN SOLUTIONS AND ITS OWN PROGRAMS WHILE THE SOVIET UNION IS ANNOUNCING BEFOREHAND WHAT SHOULD BE THE RESULTS OF A GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. THEY MADE CLEAR ALREADY THE PRECONDITIONS OF THIS CONFERENCE. THEREFORE,

OF COURSE, THE SOVIET UNION IS A SUPERPOWER, WILL BE PRESENT IN ALL THESE GATHERINGS AND WILL ACT AS A CO-CHAIRMAN, BUT I CAN'T SEE HOW THE SOVIET UNION IS GOING TO HELP US TO GET BEYOND THIS CAPACITY OF A CO-CHAIRMAN. AND HERE I AM MOVING, I THINK, A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION VIS-A-VIS THE ROLE OF THE

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U.S., THE INTERESTING THING IS THIS: THAT SOME PEOPLE WOULD SAY IN SPITE OF THE FACT, I SAY THANKS TO THE FACT, THAT THAT SPECIAL RELATIONS DO EXIST BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND JERUSALEM, AMERICA CAN PLAY A SPECIAL ROLE IN THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. BECAUSE EVEN OUR NEIGHBORS LEARNED TO KNOW THAT THEY CAN GET NOTHING BY PUSHING US AROUND. SOMEBODY IS NEEDED TO HELP THE PARTIES TO GET TOGETHER SOMEHOW AND ONLY A COUNTRY WHICH MAINTAINS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT CAN REALLY PLAY A SPECIAL ROLE AND WE ARE NOT JEALOUS. THE GOOD RELATIONS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOME OF THE IMPORTANT ARAB COUNTRIES... IT IS GOOD FOR THE AREA, IT IS GOOD FOR THE U.S. I THINK IT IS GOOD FOR THE ARAB COUNTRIES AS WELL AND IF IT BRINGS THEM TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE IT SHOULD ALSO BE GOOD FOR US. ON THE THIRD POINT-- FLEXIBILITY. I DON'T KNOW HOW FLEXIBILITY CAN BE MEASURED, BUT IT IS A FACT THAT TO THIS VERY DAY UNLESS SOMETHING CHANGES AS A RESULT OF MR. VANCE'S VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST, IT IS NOT THE ISRAELI SIDE BUT THE ARAB SIDE WHICH INSISTS ON NOT-AN-INCH POLICY, NOT TO CONCEDE AN INCH EVEN IN RETURN FOR PEACE, WHILE THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IS TO BE READY TO COMPROMISE GENEROUSLY ON TERRITORY AND TO OFFER CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PEACE WITH OUR NEIGHBOR TO THE EAST. WE CAN COMPROMISE ON TERRITORY ALTHOUGH SOMETIMES IT IS PAINFUL, BUT WE CANNOT COMPROMISE ON SECURITY AND THEREFORE I THINK THAT A LITTLE BIT OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE OTHER SIDE, NOT BY WORDS AND NOT BY STATEMENTS, BUT BY REAL NEGOTIATIONS AND TRYING TO UNDERSTAND THE NEEDS OF THE OTHER SIDE AS WELL AS WE ARE TRYING TO UNDERSTAND THEIR SIDE. THIS MAY BRING ABOUT A QUICKER SOLUTION THAN PEOPLE THINK.

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Message Attributes

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